DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 141 454 UD 017 067

AUTHOR	Hogan, Dennis P.; Featherman, David L.
TITLE	Racial Stratification and Socioeconomic Change in the American North and South. Discussion Paper #377-76.
INSTITUTION	Wisconsin Univ., Madison. Inst. for Research on Poverty.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Child Health and Human Development (NIH), Bethesda, Md.; National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Dec 76
GRANT	GI-31604; GI-44336; HD-05876
NOTE	56p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Black Achievement; *Black Education; *Black Employment; Economic Research; Geographic Location; *Income; Longitudinal Studies; Migrants; National Surveys; Occupational Surveys; *Social Stratification; Socioeconomic Status; Trend Analysis
IDENTIFIERS	*United States (North); *United States (South)

ABSTRACT

Recent change in the life cycle processes of educational, occupational, and earnings attainments among blacks native to the South, native to the North, and among black migrants from the South to the North is analyzed. Native northerners begin from relatively superior social origins and are better able to capitalize on these processes in the attainments of education and occupation than are either southern-born group. Between 1962 and 1973 the stratification experiences of the northern-born blacks rapidly converged with those of the white majority so that by 1973 their system of stratification was more like that of whites than of southern-born blacks. The processes of status allocation among the southern-born in 1973 were like those of northern natives in 1962. In this sense the integration of blacks into the majority stratification system began first and has proceeded furthest among blacks born in the North. Men living in the North, regardless of nativity, enjoy higher earnings than men living in the South. In all, changes over the recent decade have supported the internal differentiation of the black population, the development of more distinct socioeconomic strata, the greater stability of inequalities between generations of blacks, and gains toward socioeconomic integration. These changes have been more characteristic of the North than the South. (Author/JM)

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ED141454

377-76

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON POVERTY DISCUSSION PAPERS

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UD017067

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RACIAL STRATIFICATION AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHANGE IN THE AMERICAN NORTH AND SOUTH

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December 1976

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This work was supported by the National Science Foundation (GI-44336 and GI-31604), by the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (HD-05876), by the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and by the Institute for Research on Poverty with funds granted by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare pursuant to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. We thank Nancy Dunton for computational assistance. Any opinions, findings, conclusions or recommendations are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation or other agencies supporting this work.

ABSTRACT

Recent change in the life cycle processes of educational, occupational, and earnings attainments is analyzed among blacks native to the South, native to the North, and among black migrants from the South to the North. Native northerners begin from relatively superior social origins and are better able to capitalize on these in the attainments of education and occupation than are either southern-born group. Between 1962 and 1973 the stratification experiences of the northern-born blacks rapidly converged with those of the white majority so that by 1973 their system of stratification was more like that of whites than of southern-born blacks. The processes of status allocation among the southern-born in 1973 were like those of northern natives in 1962. In this sense the integration of blacks into the majority stratification system began first and has proceeded furthest among blacks born in the North. Men living in the North, regardless of nativity, enjoy higher earnings than men living in the South. Migrants to the North earned about $400 more in 1972 than did comparable northern natives. This advantage is not accounted for by longer schooling or higher returns to education, occupation, or number of weeks worked, since the natives are equal or superior to the migrants in these factors. In all, changes over the recent decade have supported the internal differentiation of the black population, the development of more distinct socioeconomic strata, the greater stability of inequalities between generations of black men, and gains toward socioeconomic integration. These changes have been more characteristic of the North than of the South.

RACIAL STRATIFICATION AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHANGE IN THE AMERICAN NORTH AND SOUTH

The best known statement of traditional race relations theory (Myrdal 1944) characterized the American South of thirty years ago as a racially-divided paternalistic society ruled by the "white man's theory of color caste."[1] The twin pillars of racist ideology and economic self-interest provided the basis for the theory of color caste. The society was preserved through an apartheid-like etiquette system (Jim Crow) and through racially segregated labor markets in which blacks competed for the most undesirable sorts of jobs. Cross-cultural research indicates that such a stratification system was a relatively common consequence of initial interracial contact in a situation of colonial conquest and settlement by Europeans with a racist ideology (Banton 1967; Kinloch 1974; Schermerhorn 1970; van den Berghe 1967).

The maintenance of the racial boundary is of paramount importance to the survival of such a society. But it is increasingly difficult to maintain as the social structure changes from a paternalistic agricultural system with prescribed social positions into a modern urban-industrial society in which social positions (at least among the majority population) are achieved by universalistic criteria (Banton 1967). As Myrdal foresaw, industrialization and urbanization in the South, as well as the migration of blacks to the more developed North, permitted some members of the minority group to achieve relatively high educations, occupations, and earnings, and they fostered conditions permitting economic and political action in pursuit of racial equality.

One way to measure black progress toward the achievement of social and economic equality is to compare the processes of achievement of the

minority and majority populations. The available evidence to date indicates that lower black attainments have resulted not so much from the lower social origins of blacks as from a system of intergenerational status allocation (stratification) in which a black receives fewer returns to favorable characteristics of socioeconomic background or to subsequent investments in human capital than does a comparable white (e.g., Siegel 1965; Duncan 1968). Black men have experienced a perverse sort of egalitarianism--neither the disadvantages of lower socioeconomic origins nor the advantages of higher social origins and education weigh as heavily in the status attainments of black as they do in the statuses of whites.

However, racial differentials in processes of status allocation have diminished in the last decade, indicating that blacks have moved in the direction of economic integration with the majority population. By 1973 net differences in completed schooling which could be linked directly to race (versus socioeconomic background) had decreased to about one-half year for men in the experienced civilian labor force (ECLF). Among men aged 25-34 in the ECLF there would have been no racial difference in education had socioeconomic origins been equal (Hauser and Featherman 1976). The gap in occupational status which separates black and white workers declined to about 17 points on the Duncan scale (Duncan 1961), and the correlations among statuses and between socioeconomic background and subsequent statuses were less different for the two major races. Thus, Featherman and Hauser (1976: p. 639) note:

> The tighter articulation between family background and achievement has fashioned a pattern of intergenerational stratification for younger blacks which resembles that among younger white men. ... At the same time, the effect of education on occupational

> status has increased absolutely and relative to that of the family since 1962, and there is growing inequality in the statuses of black men of similar origins and schooling.

In this fashion the social stratification between generations of the black population is beginning to follow a process that tends to characterize majority populations in many industrialized nations, including the United States (Featherman, Jones and Hauser 1976; Featherman and Hauser 1976).

But are these changes in racial stratification likely to appear in all segments of the black population--particularly by region? For instance, blacks in the North had gained employment in the industrial sector of the economy earlier than in the South (Taeuber and Taeuber 1965; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1971). This fact, together with the more recent development of an urban-industrial economy in the South, provides presumptive evidence that the application of universalistic criteria of achievement among southern blacks might lag behind that of northern blacks. Furthermore, the North was never structured as a strict two-color system; it included many ethnic and immigrant groups from abroad, and blacks probably have been viewed as a special group within this pluralistic system (Newman 1973). Finally, a theory of cultural lag complements these inferences from structural evidence about regional development and leads to the expectation that the achievement of economic integration with the majority would progress more rapidly among northern than among southern blacks (e.g., Middleton 1976).

Because of the differing histories of race relations and of development of a modern industrial economy in the North and South, migration from the South to the North has been viewed as one way in which American blacks have upgraded their relative socioeconomic position (Myrdal 1944; Banton 1967;

van den Berghe 1967). Such migration resulted both from push factors (e.g., few job opportunities and seasonal employment in the rural South) and pull factors (e.g., the lure of better paying jobs in northern industry, especially during war) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1971: Chapter 14; Eldridge and Thomas 1964). Migration from less developed regions into the new urban centers is a common concomitant of national economic development in other countries as well (Goldscheider 1971; Balan et al. 1973). In both the United States and Mexico, migration is one mechanism removing ascriptive restrictions such as place of origin on achievement by enabling a man to take advantage of opportunities not available in his community of origin (Blau and Duncan 1967: Balan et al. 1973).

Lieberson (1973) draws attention to the importance of distinguishing such migrants to the North from blacks who are native to the North. While nearly all blacks of southern residence were born in the South, a large and temporally varying proportion of northern blacks have been born in the South. Since characteristics of social origins, as well as the culture and personalities, of southern-born blacks may differ from those of northern-born blacks and since such factors in turn are relevant to life-time social and economic attainments, nativity should be considered when making comparisons between southern and northern blacks or when drawing comparisons among northern blacks over time (Lieberson 1973). Such a distinction is crucial if residential segregation of blacks from whites is less characteristic of the second than of the first "generation" (i.e., in terms of northern nativity, where northern residents of southern birth constitute the first generation; see Lieberson 1973) as is the case among many other ethnic groups. In that instance, the labor markets accessible to the two groups may vary and tend to produce generational differences in occupational status and earnings.

Both regional and generational differences among blacks in the process of stratification produce pronounced inequalities in attainments within the black population. In fact, in recent cohorts the variability (inequality) of schooling is greater among blacks than among whites (Hauser and Featherman 1976). Native northern blacks enjoy longer durations of schooling, higher occupational attainments, and a more status-differentiated labor market than do migrants to the North, although the former tend to have larger proportions out of the labor force (Lieberson and Wilkinson 1976; Long and Heltman 1975). Among men of the same age and schooling, migrants to the North appear to enjoy somewhat higher earnings than do the northern natives (Lieberson and Wilkinson 1976; Crain and Weisman 1972; Long and Heltman 1975; Weiss and Williamson 1972).

However, since World War II the industrial and occupational compositions of the American North and South have become more similar (McKinney and Bourque 1971). Much of this convergence reflects strikingly rapid secular shifts of employment within the South--out of agriculture and into construction, manufacturing, and trade; from jobs as farmers and farm laborers to those as craftsmen and foremen, as machine operators, and as professional and technical workers. As the economies of the two regions converge, the processes of social stratification which allocate persons into positions in the economy and its socioeconomic hierarchy should become more homogeneous. This line of reasoning follows from theories of "convergence" and the "thesis of industrialism" which propose that a major driving force behind the division of labor, inequality, and the mechanisms of status inheritance and mobility between generations is the nature of a society's economy (e.g., Feldman and Moore 1962). If the social structures (viz, the economy and the associated

system of status allocation) of two societies tend to converge owing to the technical and organizational requirements of their common economies, then it would not be unreasonable to expect regional variation in social stratification to disappear as the regional economies lose their distinctive characters. In particular, economic integration of blacks into the majority status system should be as evident in the South as in the North, and the recent socioeconomic differentiation within the black population should be general across regions.

In this paper we estimate basic life cycle models of stratification as a first step toward understanding changing differences in the system of status allocation among American blacks in the last decade and toward a more credible theory of the relationships among economic expansion, internal differentiation, and racial-ethnic stratification in modern (post-industrial) society. We will demonstrate that between 1962 and 1973 black men in both the North and the South made progress toward integration into the majority stratification system. This progress has been most rapid among northern-born blacks who, by 1973, experienced a process of stratification like that of the white majority. Southern-born men who migrate to the North are in part able to escape an environment relatively unfavorable to achievement (i.e., the South) as regards earning attainments, but fail to achieve occupational status commensurate with their years of schooling. Blacks who remain in the South have experienced the slowest progress. By 1973 the stratification system characteristic of southern blacks was comparable in many respects to that of northern-born blacks in 1962. Our evidence indicates that the South has historically been slow in upgrading its educational system in response to the demand for better educated labor that has followed its post-war (WW II) economic development. This institutional lag means that by 1973

the status allocation system experienced by southern blacks closely resembled that for northern-born blacks a decade earlier.

Data

The data for this analysis are drawn from the 1962 and 1973 surveys, "Occupational Changes in a Generation" (hereafter, OCG-I and OCG-II), which were carried out in conjunction with the March demographic supplement to the Current Population Survey (CPS) in those two years (Blau and Duncan 1967; Featherman and Hauser 1975). The 1962 survey had a response rate of 83 percent to a four-page questionnaire which was left behind by the CPS interviewer. More than 20,000 men in the civilian noninstitutional population responded. In 1973, the eight-page OCG questionnaire was mailed out six months after the March CPS and was followed by mail, telephone and personal callbacks. The respondents, comprising 88 percent of the target sample, included more than 33,500 men aged 20 to 65 in the civilian noninstitutional population. Also, in the 1973 sample, blacks and persons of Spanish origin were sampled at about twice the rate of whites, and almost half the black men were interviewed personally. In this paper we shall effect age-constant inter-temporal comparisons among black men in the post-schooling, economically active years; therefore, we limit our analysis to men aged 25 to 64 in the experienced civilian labor forces of March 1962 and March 1973.[2]

Levels of Socioeconomic Background and Attainments

Southern-born men have lower socioeconomic backgrounds than native northerners in both 1962 and 1973, with this relative disadvantage increasing over the period (Table 1).[3] Native northerners more typically come from homes in which the father had more years of schooling and a higher status occupation than do southern-born men.[4] The proportion with farm origins

declined from 25 percent to 8 percent among the northern-born over the period, while the percent from farm backgrounds decreased from 59 to 48 percent among men still in the South and from 43 to 40 percent among first generation northerners. Among the southern-born, those who moved to the North were selective of men of higher social origins, but this advantage declined over the period.

The native northerners have the highest education, and men currently residing in the South have completed the least schooling in both periods. All groups increased their mean schooling between the surveys: The gains of both southern-born groups were about two years, and that of northern-born men was about a year and a half. These shifts have narrowed educational differences among the groups, and within each group the variability of educational attainments declined over the period. Reductions in between- and within-group variability in schooling among blacks mirror national trends in educational inequality reported elsewhere (Hauser and Featherman 1976).

The changes in occupational attainments were of a much different sort. While each of the southern-born groups experienced about a 7 point increase on the Duncan scale, the native northerners gained 11 points. Northern-born blacks had an average Duncan score of 36.5 points in 1973--over 11 points higher than migrants to the North and 13 points higher than southern blacks. In contrast, the northern-born black score is only about 6 points below the occupational status of white men nationally. Besides an increase in the differences among the residence groups over the period, the variation in occupational status within each group increased by about a quarter.

The earnings of the three groups (expressed in constant 1972 dollars) increased substantially over the eleven years between surveys, more than

doubling for southerners and nearly doubling for the other two groups. Within-group variation in earnings also doubled, except for northern natives among whom it increased by one-third. It is in terms of mean earnings that the northern migrants do best relative to northern natives. This contrasts with their mean schooling, which is intermediate between the average educations of southerners and northerners, and with their mean occupational standing, which is nearly identical to the southerners' averages in both year.

Between 1962 and 1973 the average number of weeks worked increased about six weeks for southerners and northern natives and about four weeks for migrants. At the same time variation in number of weeks worked decreased by one-quarter to one-third. We infer that blacks in the labor force were more firmly integrated into the national economy than in the previous period, regardless of their current residence or region of origin. By 1973 the slight advantage of migrant blacks over the extent of employment of native northerners had been reversed. Unemployment is a cyclical phenomenon, and unemployment statistics from the 1960 and 1970 Censuses generally show more sustained employment among northern migrants in the labor force (Lieberson and Wilkinson 1976; Long and Heltman 1975).

These changes in weeks worked, taken together with increased socioeconomic attainments among each of the groups, suggest that the structural integration of blacks into the majority reward system is a pervasive phenomenon. The native northerners started from a relatively favorable socioeconomic position, and their integration is more extensive. By 1973 blacks native to the North had achieved virtual parity with the mean schooling of whites in the nation as a whole; their average occupational status differed from whites' by only six points, while their earnings were about $2000 below the national white average. In comparison, the southern-born blacks made

their most rapid gains in educational attainment and their slowest gains in occupational status (though they still gained on whites in this regard).

Such gross contrasts do not permit us to explain why these different rates of progress occurred, of course. It may be that the process which allocates persons to high or low statuses differs among the groups, with such differences changing over time. Alternatively, native northerners may be capitalizing on their more favorable social origins and achieved characteristics. To clarify these matters we shall examine separate regression models of attainments for each of the three groups. First, however, we turn our attention to the structure of mobility from father's to son's occupation for each of the groups (Table 2).

Occupational Origins, Destinations, and the Structure of Mobility

Both southern-born groups experience substantial structural mobility (minimum or net mobility)--about 44 percent--due to the changing occupational distributions from father to son. The minimum mobility required of native northerners to effect parity between the distributions of sons' and fathers' occupations is less than half that figure, indicating considerably greater similarity between the occupational distribution of fathers and sons among this group than among the men of southern birth. Since each group has roughly similar levels of observed mobility, circulation mobility (i.e., the arithmetic difference between observed and structural mobility) is about 50 percent higher among native northerners. There is rather little tendency toward inheritance of a father's major occupational group among any of the groups beyond that expected on the basis of chance.

A large part of these differences is attributable to the dissimilar origin and destination margins of the groups, particularly in the percent of farm origin. Group variation in this percentage produces character-

istic patterns of recruitment to sons' occupation, but these group patterns of inflow attenuate or disappear when the mobility tables of the northern groups are adjusted to the margins of the southern matrix as a standard. While the mobility indices for these standardized (adjusted) matrices appear to indicate differences in the degree of intergenerational occupational inheritance (see column 5 of the lower panel of Table 2), a rigorous test of differences among the groups in intergenerational mobility or stability of occupation fails to reject null ($\chi^2_{LR} = 6.71$ with 2 degrees of freedom).

A log-linear analysis of the observed intergenerational matrices (Table 3) indicates a group-constant association of origin and destination occupations across generations that is due in part to a tendency toward occupational inheritance and in part to noninherited socioeconomic association of origin and destination occupations, controlling for marginal variation among the groups. Fewer than six percent of the cases are misclassified by a model allowing marginal variation by group and group-constant association of origin and destination occupation distributions. We find no group differences in occupational mobility, whether as regards gross father-son associations, the nature of inheritance of occupations, or in the likelihood of upward or downward mobility as compared to stability.

This observation of the essential invariance in the occupational association of fathers and sons among the three groups of blacks comes as no particular surprise, given a similar finding about apparent differences between black and white mobility matrices (Hauser et al 1977), and intertemporal changes in the mobility of U. S. men (Hauser et al 1975a). Thus, one reason for superior occupational attainments of northern natives is

their superior occupational origins (Hauser et al 1975b); another stems from their superior educational attainments.

Processes of Educational Attainment

Models of educational attainment (Table 4) display the familiar relation of years of schooling to social origins (e.g., 1974). In all groups in both years, higher social origins (e.g., father's occupation and education) are translated into the ability to continue schooling, whereas a farm background, broken family, and large number of siblings are handicaps to extended schooling. For each group the negative impact of farm background was reduced by about a year or more between 1962 and 1973. Consequently, over the same period in which farm origin was becoming a less common characteristic across groups, it was becoming a less important handicap to the educational achievement of blacks. In both years blacks in the South have been able to capitalize on higher father's occupational status (and, conversely, to be more heavily penalized by the circumstances of low birth), whereas neither group in the North has been able to do so. This differential did decline between 1962 and 1973, and in any case it may be a reflection of the differential prevalence of a male head and of an occupation to be reported for the head. The increment to schooling from an additional year of father's (head's) education was about a quarter-year in 1962 for each group. By 1973 the southern men attained about a third of a year of schooling for each additional year of father's education while among native northerners this relationship was half as strong.[5] In all groups, educational inequality declined within categories of social origin (see errors of estimate in Table 4), and absolute variability in schooling decreased (see standard deviations in Table 1). Among

blacks native to the North, inequality among levels of social origins also was reduced, loosening the relevance of such ascriptive categories for educational achievement (see R^2 values in Table 4). This group recapituates the intercohort pattern in the majority population (see Hauser and Featherman 1976).[6]

Most of the educational advantage (as given in the comparison of mean years of school completed) of native northerners over southerners is due to their more favorable social origins (Table 7).[7] To the extent that the processes of educational attainment differ among the groups and over time, the northern natives are more similar to the majority population (nonblacks) than are southern-born blacks. The differences between migrants from the South and other southern blacks are more difficult to assess precisely, since we have no data on the region in which the migrants received their education.

We venture an interpretation of these data on educational achievement which argues that blacks native to the North have experienced greater structural integration into the majority socioeconomic system than have both southern-born groups. Whether one compares the mean length of schooling or the processes which convert the resources of socioeconomic background into education, it is the northern natives who more closely approximate the levels and processes of achievement among whites. Indeed, by 1973 the total gap in schooling between native black and white northerners was just over one-half year, and of this, virtually all (96%) of the difference represented the residual disadvantages of lower paternal occupation, education and the like among blacks.

It would appear that the North has set the pattern for change in the socioeconomic system over the period of our inquiry, and it is in the North that such change has most clearly altered the socioeconomic relationships between the races. We shall marshall evidence in behalf of this thesis throughout the paper, but suffice it here to call attention to two conclusions from the analyses of educational achievement. First, in 1973 (but to a lesser degree in 1962) the cross-sectional comparisons among the residential groups resemble the inter-cohort trends reported elsewhere for the nation as a whole (i.e., Hauser and Featherman 1976; Featherman and Hauser 1976). That is, the inter-temporal shifts in educational inequality and in the articulation of social origin and schooling are much like the time-constant inter-group comparisons of the black northern natives and the southern blacks. Namely, educational inequality is less in the North, both absolutely and conditioned by social origins, and educational achievement is somewhat more random with respect to social origins in the North (save in 1962, when the impact of farm origins appears to weigh heavily in the value of R^2, relative to other characteristics of social origin).

Second, first generation northern blacks are intermediate to the native northerners and to the southerners they left behind. That is, the regression coefficients for migrants to the North in the education equations of Table 4 tend to lie between the coefficients for the other two groups. Further, the pattern of absolute and conditional inequality in schooling shows the first generation northerners to have less variability than the southerners but more than the native northerners. Inasmuch as we know migration is selective but we lack information on the timing of migration relative to the completion of schooling (so that we cannot infer the region of schooling

for the migrants), it is impossible to comment further on regional bases for differential educational achievement. It is useful to anticipate ourselves at this point, however. The achievements of northern migrants in earnings and occupational standing, relative to the other groups, suggest that the North continues to provide blacks with greater opportunities for socioeconomic integration. And this regional difference in the structure of opportunity has a bearing on black-white relations which is apart from any competitive advantage for achievement which falls to those "selected" as migrants.

It is important to note that intercohort upgrading of education between 1962 and 1973 in all regions and black groups stems primarily from exogenous secular increases in mean levels of schooling, rather than from any dramatic shifts in the distributions of social origins or major change in the relationships between socioeconomic background and schooling. The relevant decomposition appears in Table 8, upper panel. Here we standardize on the 1973 regression equations for each group and insert the appropriate differences in means (1962 vs. 1973) into the equation. For example, among southerners, the intercohort shift of 2.5 years of education hardly reflects compositional change. Rather, 2.11 of the 2.50 years represent change in the regression equations linking social origins to schooling. But an examination of these equations in Table 4 indicates that a major source of change in coefficients is in the regression constant. Where change in process has occurred, it has involved the declining role of farm background. Again, the rather stable set of net associations among characteristics of socioeconomic background and schooling within each of the three black groups is

consistent with previous analysis in the national population at large (Hauser and Featherman 1976).

Processes of Occupational Status Attainment

We have described the upgrading of occupational status for each group, most apparent among native northerners, and the increase in variance in occupational status for blacks between 1962 and 1973. In part because blacks are no longer clustered at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy as unskilled labor, by 1973 there is a stronger linkage of occupational status and both social origins and education (Table 5).

In 1962 black men's social origins (as indicated by fathers' education and occupation, farm background, intactness of parental family, and number of siblings) were unrelated to their occupational attainments, once educational differences were controlled. Among both southern-born groups, an additional year of schooling converted into one additional point on the socioeconomic index of occupational status, whereas the net effect of schooling was more than twice as large for blacks native to the North. The low levels of explained variance among both southern-born groups ($R^2 \approx .08$ to .16) in 1962 is attributable to the essential invariance of occupational attainment by social origins and education. This situation contrasts with the native northerners, for whom the relationship between schooling and occupational achievement is stronger and for whom the absolute variance in occupational status is 40 percent greater than in the southern group.

By 1973 there is a much closer articulation of occupational status with social origins and education among blacks throughout the nation (Featherman and Hauser 1976), but the degree of this intercohort change varies by residence group. Across all groups the structure of family of

origin (viz, sibship size, intactness) remains nonsignificant, as do the effects of a farm origin and paternal education, net of father's occupational status. But by this latter date, the net effect of father's occupational status increases. Table 5 shows the largest intercohort increase among blacks native to the North (-.029 vs. .139), but the effect of paternal occupational status is statistically significant across all groups, even among blacks of equivalent schooling. The biggest inter-temporal change is in the returns to schooling in the form of occupational status, which more than double for each southern-born group and which nearly double for the northern natives. In 1973, among both southern-born groups, an additional year of schooling increases occupational status by about 2.5 points, while the return is 4.6 points among the northern natives. Among all whites (nonblacks) aged 25 to 64 in the ECLF of 1973, the occupational returns to an additional year of schooling is 4.3 points (Featherman and Hauser 1976).

Thus, the superior occupational attainments of native northern blacks compared to southern-born blacks is due to their relatively advantageous social origins, superior educational attainments, and to their greater capacity to translate that schooling into occupational attainments in the northern labor market. Because their occupational returns to education are similar to whites in the nation as a whole and because their mean level of educational attainment is only slightly below the white average, the occupational level of these second (and third, etc.) generation northern blacks is only six points below the mean Duncan score of all nonblacks (42.58 vs. 36.46). We hasten to remind the reader that our comparison is among men in the ECLF and therefore excludes men not in the labor force.

An exact decomposition of the sources of the occupational status differences among the three black groups (Table 7) indicates that the advantage of migrants over southerners, 2.6 points on the Duncan scale, is accounted for entirely by their superior social origins and schooling in both survey years. The regression models of Table 5 indicate no significant differences in occupation returns to socioeconomic background and education between these two southern-born groups. The negative residual in the decomposition in Table 7 stems from the slightly lower occupational attainments of migratns to the North compared to men of equivalent social origins and mean schooling who remain in the South. This finding is rather surprising in that it indicates that movement of blacks from the South to the North failed to upgrade occupational attainments of the first generation, relative to comparable men who stayed behind.

In stark contrast stand the northern-born blacks. In 1962 only about 56 percent of their ten-point Duncan score advantage over southerners was due to superior social origins and education; the remaining 44 percent represented higher occupational returns to additional schooling and other differences in the process of occupational stratification between the groups. By 1973 about 4.3 points of the higher mean status of these men are due to higher returns to education while fully 9.5 points of the 13.8 point advantage are attributable to their superior social origins (8.3 points) and educational attainments (1.2 points). Native northerners are thus born into relatively advantageous social origins and are able to translate these into superior educational attainments which in turn provide substantially greater occupational returns than accrue to either southern-born group.[8]

Rising mean education in the North and the South is important in accounting for the intercohort improvements in occupational standing from 1962 to 1973 among all categories of blacks, but especially among the southern-born men (see Table 8). Increased returns to education (but also socioeconomic background, especially paternal occupation) account for about two-fifths of the upgrading of occupational achievement for both groups residing in the North. This decomposition of change suggests that the educational system in the South has lagged behind that in the North in providing blacks with the amount and quality of schooling which is requisite for employment in an urban-industrial market such as has obtained in the North for some decades. By 1973, the industrialization of the South had begun catching up with the North, and the educational system and the schooling of blacks in the South seem to have changed commensurately. For example, the greatest intercohort shift in mean education across all groups is for the South (Table 8). Such relatively rapid changes in the educational composition of the southern black population show themselves in the more forceful bearing of shifts in schooling on occupational change in the two southern-born groups than in the group native to the North. The northern school systems may have provided a set of credentials for black workers in an urban-industrial setting at an earlier date, so that the smaller intercohort shift in mean education was a lesser factor in the rather large rise (11.1 points on the Duncan scale) in mean occupational achievement for blacks native to the North. It would appear that northern labor markets were first to respond somewhat universalistically to a growing supply of educated blacks. Indeed, we tend to see the South as lagging behind the North by almost a decade (compare the means and standard deviations for education and occupation in Table 1 for native northerners in 1962 with equivalent

statistics for southerners in 1973; compare the regression equations and related statistics in Table 5 for these same two groups).

Again, the evidence suggests that blacks native to the North are first to experience shifts in their relative positions in the system of socio-economic stratification--shifts which occur subsequently to blacks in other regions. This interpretation is consistent with the idea that structural integration of (working) blacks into the economy may follow (or at least be correlated with) economic development and change.

Migrants to the North--the first generation northern blacks--are an apparent anomaly in this analysis and interpretation of occupational change. Relative to men of equal qualification and social origins in the South, the first generation northerner suffers a loss in occupational standing by migrating. Yet this loss must be seen in a more complete context. On the one hand, had they remained behind, these relatively more highly educated southerners may not have been able to secure jobs commensurate with their resources, given the now larger supply of labor and (presumably) a constant demand. On the other hand, migration to the North can be seen as an investment, at least for the schooling and returns to northern education for the children--the second generation. And as we shall report in the next section, regional differences in earnings may in themselves account for this apparent "willingness" of migrants to take an occupational status "loss."

Processes of Earnings Attainment

In 1962 our models indicate the presence of few regional differences in the process of earnings attainments among the groups (Table 6). By 1973 there are substantial differences in process and the three groups do differ in levels of earnings controlling for social origins, education, occupation,

years of experience, and number of weeks employed during the year. In neither survey year do social origins have direct effects on a man's earnings, regardless of his residence group.

In 1962 an additional year of schooling or an additional point of occupational status increased earnings significantly only among southern men. For both groups of northern men there is no clear evidence that either a higher education or higher status job increased earnings. The number of weeks worked during the year is the only important determinant of a man's annual earnings, producing the high levels of explained variance in our models. An examination of equations which omit this variable produced roughly similar estimates of returns to occupation, education, and social origins so these models are not shown. In this earlier period an additional week's work increased earnings by $100 for a man working in the North but only $65 for a black working in the South, indicating the crucial role played by regional differences in wage rates.

By 1973 both the effect of schooling on earnings and the effect of years of labor force experience increased substantially for each group, as did constant-dollar returns to occupational status. Native northern blacks appear to reap greater returns to investments in education than either southern-born group. The northern natives earn less for each additional year of labor force experience than do the migrants, but the major contrast is the lack of any returns to experience among men who remain in the South. This might be related to differing industrial compositions of the regions and to lower levels of unionization in the South. The native northerners continue to enjoy higher weekly earnings than either southern or first generation northern

men, with the position of the migrants relative to the native northerners declining somewhat. The net earnings for an additional week of work during 1972 was $120 for southerners, $140 for first generation northerners, and $169 for northern natives.

When the $786 earnings advantage of the natives over the migrants is decomposed (standardizing on the equations for the migrants) $772 is accounted for by their superior social origins and $438 by their superior attainments and labor force experiences. This leaves a residual of -$424, indicating that black natives earn less than would migrants to the North were they to enjoy similar characteristics. This process difference is not accounted for by the returns to education, occupation, or weeks worked since such returns are at least as high for natives of the North. The small advantage of migrants to the North may be due to more hours of work per week (unspecified in our models) or to a greater likelihood of employment at a second job or at multiple part-time jobs. It may be that migrants to the North who fail to achieve relatively high earnings subsequently return to the South, leaving behind a pool of men doubly selected for success among first generation northerners--men with whom northern natives compare unfavorably (Lieberson and Wilkinson 1976). At any rate, this is the same finding observed by Long and Heltman (1975) and others. Our more extensive models of earnings have failed to locate the source of this seeming anomaly. As part of the OCG-II project a replicate survey of black men in the Milwaukee metropolitan area was conducted. This survey obtained a variety of social psychological measures relating to attitudes toward work as well as a variety of other information that might prove useful in accounting for

a man's earnings. We hope to make use of such information to discover the sources of the higher earnings intercepts of migrants to the North over native northerners in future research.

In 1962 about three-quarters of the earnings advantage of migrants to the North over southerners (see Table 7) is due to differences in the process of earnings attainments, with the remainder attributable to higher social origins and socioeconomic attainments. The comparable figure in the comparison with southerners is 60 percent among native northerners. By 1973 these patterns are more divergent with 87 percent of the advantage of migrants to the North but less than half of the northern-born advantage due to differences in the earnings attainment processes. Whereas in the attainment of occupational status the first generation northerners gained no advantage over that provided by their higher social origins and schooling by moving from the South, nearly all of their advantage in earnings over men remaining in the South is attributable to the higher returns to schooling and experience and to the wage structure obtaining in a northern setting.

About equal proportions of the increase in earnings from 1962 to 1973 are due to improvements in labor force attainments and attachments (including education and all other variables in our models except those indexing social origins) and to changes in the process of earnings attainment among men living in their region of birth (Table 8). Among the migrants, fully two-thirds of the improvement in earnings over the period is due to inter-cohort shifts in the process of earnings attainment, including secular changes in earnings levels between the periods. The migrants, whose educational and occupational attainments are slightly higher than southerners, and whose average numbers of weeks worked are slightly fewer, gain roughly

equivalent dollar increases in earnings due to upgrading in such characteristics as do the southerners ($1517 vs. $1366 from Table 8). Their superior overall improvements in earnings are attributable to more favorable changes in process over time than experienced by southerners, perhaps indicating the integration of blacks into the earnings reward system is proceeding more quickly among the migrants.[9]

Again, we find in these data a basis for our argument that the South lags behind the North in the structural integration of black workers. A simple inspection of the mean earnings (Table 1) shows a monotonic increase both within year from South to Native North and across years and residence groups (from 1962 South to 1973 Native North). Since these figures are in constant (1972) dollars, they reflect estimates of levels and growth in productivity, and as such, they suggest that the South of 1973 is not unlike the North (as given in the data for natives) in 1962. A similar interpretation follows from an analogous reading of the lines in Table 1 for mean education and occupational socioeconomic status. Doubtless these figures represent different industrial compositions and changes therein by region. But they are coincident with other important regional differences, as our results for earnings demonstrate among black men in the experienced labor force. Both absolute variability in earnings (see standard deviations in Table 1) and variability conditioned on socioeconomic background, education, occupation and labor experience (see errors of estimate in Table 6) are greater in the North than in the South, with the clearest contrast between the men residing in their regions of birth. Economic opportunities for economic achievement for blacks are more prevalent in the North, and that

in itself may be a sufficient inducement for migration to the North. But for second and third generation natives in the North, the process of earnings attainment is based on universalistic grounds to a far greater degree than in the South, even in 1973. Indeed the contrast in the coefficients for education and experience in Table 6 is more striking for the two native groups in 1973 than in 1962. If the first generation northerners suffer, it is largely in their economic (and occupational) returns to schooling. This may not signal the ineffectiveness of "universalism" for this group as much as it may the allegedly poorer quality of southern education for an urban-industrial market. (Alternatively, it may reflect the disutility of southern linguistic patterns of the North, the effect of ghetto segregation of recent migrants on their knowledge of and success in northern markets, and other hypothetical contingencies which "discount" the level of black schooling within the first generation.)

Summary and Conclusions

Previous research has demonstrated a convergence of the educational and occupational attainments of blacks with those of whites. Part of this convergence is attributable to improved social origins (in the case of education) but in part it is due to the development of a system of stratification across generations among blacks that is more like the process of status allocation characteristic of the majority population. Between 1962 and 1973, age-constant comparisons of blacks indicate an increase in mean levels of education, occupation, and earnings, with a lesser degree of educational inequality and a greater amount of occupational and earnings variability by 1973. This provided suggestive evidence of increased internal differentiation and socioeconomic inequality within the black minority, raising the issue of the uniformity of the stratification system

and the crystallization of rewards among different groups of blacks during the course of economic expansion. In particular, we wished to address the issue of whether blacks have in recent years been able to escape an environment unfavorable to the attainment of education, occupation, and earnings by migration from the South to the urban-industrial centers of the North. Furthermore, did such migration improve the operation of universalistic criteria in the attainment of occupational and earnings rewards? Finally, do the experiences of blacks who were born in the North differ, either favorably or unfavorably, from those who migrated to the North?

This paper has provided complex, but generally affirmative, answers to these questions. Native northern blacks have educational attainments that are superior to men in the South, but this advantage has been decreasing through time. By 1973 most of the educational advantage of the Northern natives is attributable to their more favorable social origins, in particular, to the smaller proportion which is of farm origin. The educational attainments of the southern-born men who migrate to the North are intermediate to those of the other two groups. A part of their advantage over men who remain in the South is a result of social origins, but a portion of the difference is an artifact of the selectivity of better educated men as migrants. By 1973 the process of educational attainment characterizing native black northerners did not differ from that of the American white majority.

Blacks from all three groups experienced a similar degree of socio-economic association of occupations between father and son. Because so many of the southern-born and so few of the northern-born men were of farm backgrounds the occupational distributions of fathers and sons differed

most among the former men and the required and observed levels of occupational mobility were greatest among them. The heavy representation of men of farm background among the southern-born results in part in their disproportionate concentration in low status occupations.

Between 1962 and 1973 there was considerable upgrading of the occupational status of blacks in each group although by far the largest improvements were among northern natives. Likewise there were increases in the variability of occupational status over the decade for each group. The greater articulation of social origins and education with occupational attainment characteristic of blacks as a whole is a pervasive phenomenon experienced by each group. But the changes, both in levels and in process, were most dramatic among the northern natives. Not only did these men enjoy higher social origins and education than those born in the South, but their ability to capitalize on such characteristics increased over the decade. By 1973 both the process of occupational attainment and the ultimate levels of attainment of native northern blacks were more like those of the American white majority than those of either southern-born black group. In contrast, the slight advantage of the migrants to the North over southerners is attributable entirely to more favorable social backgrounds.

Finally, the earnings models indicated an increased operation over the interval of meritocratic criteria such as education, occupation, and number of weeks employed in the determination of earnings among each of the groups. By 1973 the major reason other than favorable origins and education for the higher annual earnings of men in the North is the superior wage and salary rates paid in that region. Migration to the North may have increased the operation of universalistic achievement criteria for earnings only

slightly, but it did permit the migrants to enjoy the advantage of higher northern pay scales.

As the theories of race relations reviewed at the beginning of this paper led us to expect, southern black men have been able to increase their own earnings by moving to the North, although they have failed to upgrade their occupational achievements. Additionally, men who move to the North and have children born to them there are able to assist their children in capitalizing on better social origins to complete more years of schooling. The second generation is able to translate these advantages into superior occupational achievements because they are more subject to universalistic criteria of achievement than are men born in the South, whatever their region of residence. They also enjoy higher rates of earnings characteristic of the North--rates similar to those paid men who migrate North.

The present analysis provides evidence that economic expansion has been coterminous with the internal differentiation of the black population, with the development of more distinct socioeconomic strata, with the greater stability of inequalities between generations of black men, and with gains toward the socioeconomic integration of experienced workers. That these changes have been more extensive in the North and have predated similar developments in the South are consistent with our speculations about the sources and direction of recent changes in the socioeconomic stratification of the races.

In terms of the dynamics of racial inequality, the northward migration of blacks provides some immediate benefits, while also increasing the ultimate proportion of the next generation that is northern-born. These second generation northerners experience processes of stratification or

reward allocation that are much more similar to those of the white majority than do any other blacks. It is among such men that the convergence of stratification processes between the races, as well as convergence of attainment levels, has been disproportionately concentrated. The same trends were typical of southern-born men, but are not nearly as pronounced. In the last several decades, the migration of blacks to the North has reduced inter-racial inequalities in the attainment of education, occupation, and earnings while increasing the degree of intra-racial inequality.

Current trends toward the convergence of the industrial and occupational structure of the South with that of the North may open new opportunities for the structural integration of black workers (e.g., McKinney and Bourque 1971). To the extent that the consequences for integration of such convergence may take time to appear, our analysis would not have detected it.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Versions of this paper were presented at a conference on "The Scope and Practice of Social Science History," April 1976 in Madison, Wisconsin and at the Fourth World Congress of Rural Sociology, August 1976, in Torun, Poland.

[2]The population frequencies of these men by region of residence and nativity in 1962 and 1973 are shown in Table 1. All statistics shown in this paper are based on a sample size weighted to reflect true population proportions and adjusted by a sampling design factor to reflect departures from a simple random sample. Our use of regional labels follows conventions of the U. S. Census: North is Northeast, North Central, and West, while South is South.

[3]Paternal education is scaled in years completed according to the following recode of class intervals: No school, 0.0 years; elementary (1-4), 3.3 years; elementary (5-7), 6.3 years; elementary (8), 8.0 years; high school (1-3), 9.9 years; high school (4), 12.0 years; college (1-3) 13.8 years; college (4), 16.0 years; college (5 or more), 18.0 years. Number of siblings is the number of brothers and sisters (but not counting respondent). Farm origin is a dummy variable, with a score of one indicating that respondent's father was a farmer, farm manager, farm laborer, or farm foreman. Broken family is a dummy variable, with one indicating that the respondent was not living with both parents most of the time up to age 16. Respondent's education is in single years, as reported to the CPS. Father's and respondent's occupation are scored according to Duncan's socioeconomic

index for occupations (Duncan 1961). We believe that occupational socio-economic status is the major dimension along which occupational positions persist from generation to generation (Featherman, Jones, and Hauser 1976). "Father's" occupation refers to the mother or other household head where the father was absent. Number of weeks worked by the respondent during the previous year is scaled in weeks according to the following recode of class intervals: None, 0.0 weeks; 1-13, 7.0 weeks; 14-26, 20.0 weeks; 27-39, 33.0 weeks; 40-47, 43.5 weeks; 48-49, 48.5 weeks; 50-52, 51.0 weeks. Earnings are expressed in constant (1972) dollars. Years of work experience are estimated by the difference, age minus age at first job, as a proxy for increments to "human capital" via on-the-job training over the work career, assuming constant annual discount and investment rates. To represent decay or human capital as a function of age (owing to declining health, physical and mental capacities, and the disincentives to retrain at older ages), we square the experience proxy. See Hauser and Featherman (1974) and Mincer (1974) for theoretical rationales for these constructions.

[4]Intracohort comparisons within groups between surveys suggest that reported father's occupational level is artificially inflated. Some of the seeming decrease in father's occupational status between 1962 and 1973

is therefore an artifact. We found no reason to believe that this artifact differentially characterizes the residence groups. Therefore, the relatively improved social origins of native northerners vis-à-vis the southern-born men is not artifactual.

[5]These models of educational attainment, as well as those of occupational attainment, were also estimated for men aged 25-64 separately by residence group with the inclusion of control variables for age and age-square. The inclusion of such controls did not change the overall conclusions reached. Controls for age composition did tend to increase levels of explained variance substantially while also causing erratic fluctuations in the intercepts of the equations. We therefore chose to present the structural models of attainment excluding these controls (Tables 5 and 6). In decomposing differences among the groups and intercohort shifts within groups (Tables 7 and 8) we do include age controls, so that the small differences in age composition cannot contaminate our estimates.

[6]The education, occupation, and earnings attainment structural equation models were also estimated for men aged 25 to 34. The intracohort comparisons across residence groups in 1973 replicated the findings reported here for men 25-64. We do not report these findings in detail, nor do we attempt intracohort comparisons within residence groups between 1962 and 1973, because of the small sample sizes such comparisons would entail.

[7]Without controls for age, differences in social origin account for 60 percent of the superior education of first generation northerners in 1962 but only 51 percent by 1973. The comparable figures for northern natives are 58 percent and 84 percent. Standardization was carried out on the

regression equations for southerners, into which the means for the other two groups (northern natives and first generation northerners) were inserted.

[8]Without controls for age, differences in social origins and education account for 107 percent of the superior occupational attainments of migrants in 1962 and 114 percent in 1973. The comparable figures for northern natives are 56 percent and 67 percent.

[9]We performed an analysis of the determinants of relative earnings position (log earnings) parallel to the earnings analysis. The results were roughly similar to those for earnings, but their addition here seemed uninformative and uninteresting. We therefore chose to omit these log earnings models from our discussion.

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of Background and Attainment Variables by Residence Group, Black Men Aged 25-64, Experienced Civilian Labor Force, March 1962 and March 1973

Variable[b]	1962 South	1962 First Generation North	1962 Native North	1973 South	1973 First Generation North	1973 Native North
Father's Occupation	14.39 (9.92)[a]	16.58 (14.06)	21.45 (17.36)	13.82 (11.14)	15.69 (13.04)	23.73 (19.24)
Father's Education	4.96 (2.30)	6.79 (4.12)	7.72 (3.89)	5.73 (3.62)	6.65 (3.78)	8.98 (3.66)
Farm Background	0.59 (0.49)	0.43 (0.50)	0.25 (0.43)	0.48 (0.50)	0.40 (0.49)	0.08 (0.28)
Broken Family	0.29 (0.46)	0.34 (0.48)	0.34 (0.48)	0.32 (0.47)	0.31 (0.46)	0.37 (0.48)
Number of Siblings	5.51 (2.94)	4.93 (3.05)	4.45 (2.95)	5.28 (2.90)	5.34 (3.02)	4.05 (2.83)
Age	42.47 (10.67)	42.43 (10.34)	40.10 (10.62)	41.67 (11.24)	42.34 (10.60)	38.85 (10.14)
Age-Squared	1917.16 (921.28)	1907.03 (894.43)	1719.79 (923.94)	1862.92 (975.89)	1905.20 (916.63)	1611.45 (846.12)
Education	6.79 (4.14)	8.54 (3.54)	10.39 (3.22)	9.30 (3.83)	10.30 (3.04)	11.79 (2.71)
Occupation	15.42 (14.12)	17.97 (13.39)	25.36 (19.66)	22.64 (19.33)	25.29 (18.80)	36.46 (23.18)
Experience	25.08 (11.84)	24.24 (11.29)	21.79 (12.44)	22.67 (13.03)	23.00 (12.23)	18.77 (11.54)
Decay	768.80 (625.62)	714.43 (591.13)	628.10 (655.91)	683.45 (671.71)	678.45 (621.47)	485.23 (519.74)
Weeks Worked	41.47 (15.00)	41.43 (15.47)	40.19 (17.18)	47.16 (9.75)	45.78 (11.84)	47.07 (10.72)
Earnings	2895. (2304.)	4554. (2577.)	5141. (4160.)	6217. (4595.)	8355. (5096.)	9141. (5455.)
Population Totals (1000s)	1736	1031	511	1916	1077	564

[a] Approximate standard errors in parenthesis.

[b] See footnote 3 for definitions.

Table 2. Occupational Mobility Statistics for Black Men Aged 25-64, Experienced Civilian Labor Force, March 1973

Residence Group	Percentage changing major occ. group[f]				
	Minimum[a]	Observed[b]	Expected[c]	Circulation Mobility[d]	Mobility Index[e]
Observed Matrix					
South	44.6	84.5	89.2	39.9	89.5
First Generation North	43.8	87.6	88.9	43.8	97.1
Native North	21.8	82.4	84.1	60.6	97.3
Matrix Adjusted to Southern Margins					
South	44.6	84.5	89.2	39.9	89.5
First Generation North	44.6	89.0	89.2	44.4	99.5
Native North	44.6	87.0	89.2	42.4	95.1

[a]Net mobility; index of dissimilarity comparing row and column marginals.

[b]Percentage off main diagonal.

[c]Percentage off the main diagonal under model of independence of rows and columns.

[d]Circulation Mobility = (Observed - Minimum).

[e]Mobility Index = $\left(\frac{\text{Observed - Minimum}}{\text{Expected - Minimum}}\right)$.

[f]The major occupation groups are defined as: professional, technical and kindred, and managers, officials and proprietors; sales and clerical; craftsmen; operatives; service; farmers and farm managers; farm laborers; and nonfarm laborers.

Table 3. Log-linear Tests of Variation in Mobility from Father's Occupation to Own Occupation, Black Men Aged 25-64, Experienced Civilian Labor Force, March 1973

Model[a]	χ^2_{LR}[b]	df	p	Δ[c]	χ^2_H/χ^2_T[d]
A. Total Occupation Matrix					
1. [F][O][R] (Baseline)	714.08	175	.000	19.34	100.00
2. [FR][OR] (Occupation margins vary by group)	264.85	147	.000	11.57	37.09
3. [FR][O] (Origin margin varies by group)	448.31	161	.000	15.89	62.78
4. [OR][F] (Destination margin varies by group)	530.63	161	.000	16.90	74.31
5. [FR][OR][FO] (Occupation margins vary by group and place-constant interactions)	65.16	98	>.5	5.68	9.13
6. A4 vs. A2 (Net [FR])	265.78	14	.000	5.33	37.22
7. A3 vs. A4 (Net [OR])	183.46	14	.000	4.32	25.69
8. A5 vs. A2 (Net [FO])	199.69	49	.000	5.89	27.96
B. Occupation Matrix with Main Diagonal Blocked					
1. [FR][OR]	175.43	123	.000	8.71	24.57
2. [FR][OR][FO]	55.98	82	>.5	4.84	7.84
3. B2 vs. B1 (Net [FO])	119.45	41	.000	3.87	16.73
C. Hierarchical Decomposition					
1. B3 vs. A8 (Net [FO] due to inheritance)	80.24	8	.000	2.02	11.24
2. B2 vs. A5 (Net group differences in inheritance)	9.18	16	>.5	0.84	1.29

[a] F=father's occupation (professional, technical, and kindred; managers, officials, and proprietors/ sales and clerical/craftsmen/operatives/service/farmers and farm managers/farm laborers/nonfarm laborers); O=own 1973 occupation (same as father's occupation); R=residence group (South/First Generation North/ Native North).

[b] Likelihood ratio chi-square.

[c] Index of dissimilarity.

[d] Chi-square null as a percent of total baseline chi-square.

Table 4. Regression Analysis of Educational Attainment by Residence Group, Black Men Aged 25-64, Experienced Civilian Labor Force, March 1962 and March 1973

Variable[b]	1962			1973		
	South	First Generation North	Native North	South	First Generation North	Native North
Father's Occupation	.058	-.016	.003	.026	.006	.007
	(.025)[a]	(.019)	(.021)	(.010)	(.009)	(.009)
Father's Education	.268	.224	.238	.342	.225	.145
	(.074)	(.066)	(.094)	(.033)	(.033)	(.049)
Farm Background	-2.429	-2.607	-3.117	-1.665	-1.524	-1.853
	(.494)	(.536)	(.832)	(.230)	(.258)	(.555)
Broken Family	-.998	-.620	-.439	-.536	-.733	-.532
	(.519)	(.545)	(.708)	(.235)	(.250)	(.309)
Number of Siblings	-.128	.027	-.103	-.060	-.075	-.145
	(.082)	(.087)	(.120)	(.038)	(.040)	(.054)
Intercept	7.065	8.466	9.870	8.275	9.946	11.265
R^2	.236	.226	.382	.236	.217	.164
Error of Estimate	3.657	3.163	2.633	3.355	2.705	2.497

[a] Approximate standard errors in parenthesis.

[b] See footnote 3 for definitions.

Table 5. Regression Analysis of Occupational Attainment by Residence Group, Black Men Aged 25-64, Experienced Civilian Labor Force, March 1962 and March 1973

Variable[b]	1962 South	1962 First Generation North	1962 Native North	1973 South	1973 First Generation North	1973 Native North
Father's Occupation	.043	.055	-.029	.179	.119	.139
	(.089)[a]	(.080)	(.147)	(.050)	(.058)	(.071)
Father's Education	.208	.170	-.015	.352	.378	-.447
	(.273)	(.281)	(.690)	(.168)	(.216)	(.392)
Farm Background	-2.386	1.858	.366	-.056	.419	1.281
	(1.856)	(2.378)	(6.428)	(1.143)	(1.657)	(4.437)
Broken Family	-.602	1.888	-.548	-.812	-.225	.483
	(1.877)	(2.256)	(4.959)	(1.143)	(1.565)	(2.435)
Number of Siblings	.150	-.240	-.500	-.350	-.159	-.177
	(.297)	(.359)	(.844)	(.186)	(.250)	(.429)
Education	1.122	1.040	2.675	2.364	2.433	4.616
	(.231)	(.336)	(.886)	(.154)	(.262)	(.469)
Intercept	6.900	6.762	0.614	-1.684	-3.396	-16.805
R^2	.156	.088	.205	.299	.208	.302
Error of Estimate	13.131	13.047	18.371	16.236	16.824	19.567

[a]Approximate standard errors in parenthesis.

[b]See footnote 3 for definitions.

Table 6. Regression Analysis of Earnings Attainment by Residence Group, Black Men Aged 25-64, Experienced Civilian Labor Force, March 1962 and March 1973

Variable[b]	1962 South	1962 First Generation North	1962 Native North	1973 South	1973 First Generation North	1973 Native North
Father's Occupation	-3	-16	-31	-14	35	-18
	(13)[a]	(13)	(32)	(12)	(16)	(17)
Father's Education	7	59	5	-0	4	69
	(40)	(46)	(150)	(41)	(59)	(95)
Farm Background	-295	-712	95	-512	632	819
	(268)	(387)	(1368)	(281)	(444)	(1078)
Broken Family	253	-441	-642	-75	-284	22
	(272)	(368)	(1038)	(280)	(419)	(597)
Number of Siblings	-30	1	37	-9	-41	24
	(43)	(58)	(176)	(46)	(67)	(104)
Education	187	-99	120	228	300	409
	(37)	(62)	(202)	(47)	(83)	(136)
Occupation	26	23	42	66	50	57
	(9)	(13)	(28)	(8)	(11)	(15)
Experience	36	7	74	30	135	106
	(45)	(65)	(155)	(39)	(61)	(85)
Decay	-0	-0	-2	-0	-2	-2
	(1)	(1)	(3)	(1)	(1)	(2)
Weeks Worked	65	101	112	120	140	169
	(8)	(11)	(30)	(13)	(16)	(27)
Intercept	-1982	1135	-1638	-2916	-4443	-7253
R^2	.409	.396	.338	.258	.234	.280
Error of Estimate	1811	2072	3684	3978	4499	4712

[a] Approximate standard errors in parenthesis.

[b] See footnote 3 for definitions.

Table 7. Components of Differences[a] between the Social and Economic Attainments of First and Second Generation Northern Men and Southern Men, Blacks Aged 25-64, Experienced Civilian Labor Force, March 1962 and March 1973

	1962				1973			
Attainment and Components	First Generation North		Native North		First Generation North		Native North	
Education								
Social origins and age	0.84	(48%)	2.07	(57%)	0.34	(34%)	1.98	(80%)
Residual	0.91	(52%)	1.53	(43%)	0.66	(66%)	0.51	(20%)
Total difference	1.75	(100%)	3.60	(100%)	1.00	(100%)	2.49	(100%)
Occupational Status								
Social origins and age	1.98	(78%)	3.83	(39%)	1.80	(68%)	8.31	(60%)
Education	0.95	(37%)	1.75	(18%)	1.66	(63%)	1.17	(8%)
Residual	-0.38	(-15%)	4.36	(44%)	-0.81	(-31%)	4.34	(31%)
Total difference	2.55	(100%)	9.94	(100%)	2.65	(100%)	13.82	(100%)
Earnings								
Social origins	262	(16%)	505	(22%)	260	(12%)	1063	(36%)
Labor force attainments and attachment	191	(11%)	389	(17%)	12	(1%)	459	(16%)
Residual	1207	(73%)	1352	(60%)	1865	(87%)	1402	(48%)
Total difference	1660	(100%)	2246	(100%)	2137	(100%)	2924	(100%)

[a]The structural equation for southern residence blacks are used for the standardization.

Table 8. Components of Change[a] in Social and Economic Attainments between 1962 and 1973: Black Men Aged 25-64, Experienced Civilian Labor Force, by Residence Group

Attainment and Components	South		First Generation North		Native North	
Education						
Social origins and age	.39	(16%)	-.01	(-1%)	.54	(39%)
Residual	2.11	(84%)	1.77	(101%)	.86	(61%)
Intercohort change	2.50	(100%)	1.76	(100%)	1.40	(100%)
Occupation						
Social origins and age	1.08	(15%)	-0.25	(-4%)	2.13	(19%)
Education	5.30	(73%)	4.58	(63%)	3.94	(35%)
Residual	0.84	(12%)	2.99	(41%)	5.04	(45%)
Intercohort change	7.22	(100%)	7.32	(100%)	11.11	(100%)
Earnings						
Social origins	240	(7%)	-80	(-2%)	188	(5%)
Labor force attainments and attachment	1517	(46%)	1366	(36%)	1998	(50%)
Residual	1565	(47%)	2515	(66%)	1814	(45%)
Intercohort change	3322	(100%)	3801	(100%)	4000	(100%)

[a]The structural equations for 1973 are used for the standardization.

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